2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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175 657 having their head-quarters in the towns, who were responsible for the patrolling of the main routes, the suppression of organized crime, and the realization of the land revenue. So long as it was paid, and so long as there was no disturbance of the peace endangering the general security or outbreaks of crime preventing the safe passage of travellers and merchandise, the villages were left to manage their own affairs, with headmen and councils of elders to try their petty cases and village watchmen to prevent petty crime.

• 127 A detailed account of the economy up to the year 1830 (when a large part of the plateau was transferred from Coimbatore to the Malabar administration) can be reconstructed from several reports, mainly British.[6] These provide us with a list of Badaga produce which can be amended slightly by modern informants.

175 241 The main items[7] cultivated by Badagas in the early nineteenth century were wheat, barley, panic-seed, the Italian, finger and slender millets, poppy, prince's feather, mustard seed, black gram, field peas, chick pea or Bengal gram, pepper, rose-mallow seeds; garlic, onion, fenugreek, country bean, pumpkin and gourd.

175 (231) The main animal products in this period were cow and buffalo milk, clarified butter (made more by Todas than by Badagas), hides (prepared by Kotas from Badaga animals), bullocks used in ploughing and threshing, and a few large poultry. No sheep were kept, though Finicio and Birch had noticed goats in the hills (Finicio, 1603, 723; Keys, 1812, li; Birch, 1836, 103).

Materials gathered from the jungle included kitchen fuel, honey, bees-wax, hay, wild flax, gentian, sandalwood, rattan cane and black dammer or resin.

175 439 The items usually imported and exported by Badagas are also known from these same sources. The imports were coarse cloth, salt, tobacco, iron bars for the Kota blacksmith (Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 8), coarse sugar made from a palm sap, trinkets and coinage.

Exports included wheat, barley, some superior millets, bales of millet and barley hay and wild flax (all used for fodder), poppy capsules and opium, honey, bees-wax, garlic, onion, mustard seed, pepper, fenugreek, gentian, rose-mallow seed, clarified butter, sandalwood, hides, cane—and coinage paid in land taxes to an official at Dannaika Ko:ṭe.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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177 423 planters or to engage in new occupations so as to earn enough cash to maintain themselves and pay the revenue assessments on their land (Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 64; Grigg, 1880, 325, 471, 480; Ranga, 1934, 11–14). Those made landless by the restrictions on [464] forest swidden cultivation and also the labour surplus of the immigrant and rapidly expanding population were obliged to work in the plantations for wages, which were primarily used for buying grain in the markets. By 1870 Badaga men were getting contracts as construction gangs, a few women were picking tea or coffee-beans and young boys could be seen breaking stones by the roadside.[10]

241 311 [423] [492] [407] [423] Early in this century most Badaga families still owned and cultivated land within two kilometres of their homes. This land was usually hilly and always unirrigated. There was relatively little terracing on the hill-slopes (Grigg, 1880, 470), and most tilling was still done with ploughs and oxen.[11] The best fields lay in the valley flats, not so much because of the proximity of stream water as because of the rich deposit of topsoil. Badagas had long recognized the differences in soils and terrain, both when choosing where to plant crops and when dividing up the patrimony. Soil distinctions were important to them, but distance from the home was even more significant. Land was therefore categorized by Badagas primarily as home-farm (within a half kilometre), outfield, or jungle clearings.[2] The first type got much of the cattle manure and all human refuse; more distant land received little manure and was often left fallow (Grigg, 1880, 319–320, quoting from a Revenue Board Report probably of 1863); jungle clearings were never manured and could lie fallow for several years. Weeding, like manuring, was mostly confined to the more valuable crops growing near the home.

311 [423] A majority of the cultivable land on the plateau has always belonged to the Badagas; in the mid-nineteenth century this amounted to 12,750 hectares, of which some 6,900 ha. were cultivated each year; but thirty years later 'the occupied area of the plateau has trebled itself... mainly due to the extension of cultivation by the Badaga villagers'. During the twentieth century virtually all of the land under subsistence crops (barley, millets and wheat) as well as plateau land growing market [177] vegetables and fruits was farmed by Badagas and Kotas. On the other hand a majority of the land devoted to tea, coffee and cinchona was in British-owned plantations. Few reliable figures

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are available for the total area under crop by Badagas.[14] In the case of the administrative 'village' of Sholur nevertheless good data (McIver & Stokes, 1883; Benson, 1884; Arputhanathan, 1953, 43; Subrahmanyam, 1962, 3–4) allow a realistic comparison with the recent situation (see Table 1). This 'village' (actually a commune) may be considered typical of Badaga settlements and has hardly changed its official boundaries since the Land Settlement of 1884.[15]

Table 1. *Sholur (So:lu:ru) 'Village': eighty years of agricultural change*

Total 'village' area, 1884	9113 hectares
Total 'village' area, 1961	9111 ha.
Registered *patta* lands, 1884	913 ha., all held by Badagas
Registered *patta* lands, 1962	1619 ha., nearly all held by Badagas
Number of *pattas*, 1884	49 single registrations, 63 joint ones (i.e., total of 112 *pattas)*
Number of *pattas*, 1962	372 in total
Population, 1881	1772, all communities, in 384 houses
Population, 1961	8518, all communities, in 930 houses
Estimate of cropped area, 1880–1881	749 ha.
Estimate of cropped area, 1962	607 ha.

From Table 1 evidence of several important shifts emerges:

A. In eighty years the population increased fivefold.

B. In eighty years the size of households doubled, from an average of 4.61 to an average of 9.15.[16]

C. In eighty years the number of registered land holdings *(pattas)* more than tripled.

D. In eighty years the area of *patta* land doubled through release of government-held reserves (but was not all cropped).

E. Fragmentation of holdings has thus been taking place.

F. The estimate of the total cultivated area in 1962 was a little below that for 1880–1881.

G. Average cultivated area has thus dropped from 0.42 ha. per capita in 1881 to 0.07 ha. per capita around 1961; in other words, only one-sixth as much cropped land is being used as there was in 1881 for each person.

We may conclude from the recent situation at Sholur (So:lu:ru)

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was mostly in steep rocky places ill-suited to any cultivation.)

14. Grigg, 1880, 321, mentions there were 29,912 acres (12,105 ha.) of farming land on the plateau in 1862–1863 but considers this 'a fictitious number'. Fifteen years earlier Ouchterlony had estimated that the Badagas alone used 12,750 ha.; Grigg, 1880, 13.

15. It is 19 km. by road from Ootacamund and embraces the Badaga commune of So:lu:ru.

16. That Sholur was not atypical in this respect is suggested by the fact that in 1867 the average number of persons per Badaga household for the entire district was 4.36; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 61.

17. Land utilization figures for the entire district, 1905–1960, in Nambiar (1965), do not isolate the role of Badaga agriculture.

18. Ranga, 1934, 68. As early as 1908 Francis (p. 167) noted: 'Potatoes are much exported to Ceylon, the Straits [Malaya] and Burma . . .' It was in 1908 that the railway connecting Ootacamund with the plains was completed.

19. Ranga, 1934, 14–15, 18–22. 'In fact many planters advance money to Badagas to enable them to dig pits and plant tea . . . with the intention of being able to purchase that land'; Ranga, 1934, 15.

20. Merchants also granted credit for purchase of daily needs—at much inflated prices; Ranga, 1934, 73–74; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249. Such traders are an excellent example of Simmel's 'resident stranger', whose presence catalyses a peasant economy by affording credit; Simmel, 1923, 509–512.

21. De:vaso:le, Kolekombe, Se:las, Gudalu:ru, Manju:ru, Ki:kotagiri, Neḍugula, and Naduvatta; Baikie, 1857, 38, 88; Grigg, 1880, 471.

22. Nambiar, 1965, 23. The first time this problem beset Badaga farmers was in 1880; B.E.M.S., 1880, no. 41, 37; Grigg, 1880; 134.

23. Ranga, 1934, 7–9. Badaga contractors had been involved in such work since the mid-nineteenth century; McPherson, 1870, 21.

24. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 753; Francis, 1908, 129; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 63; Ranga, 1934, 8; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 248. These jobs included builders, blacksmiths, brickmakers, carpenters, clerks, domestic servants, painters, gardeners, washermen, teachers, printers, forest guards, tailors, barbers, water-carriers, stone-breakers, rickshaw-pullers, and even coolies and scavengers.

25. Jagor, 1876, 201–202; unlike most Hindus the Badagas do not employ washermen.

26. These were mainly Christians.

27. The categories are taken from the 1961 *Census of India.*

28. The designation is not recent; Francis, 1908, 265. On the Backward Classes generally, see Béteille, 1969, 87–145. Very recently the Nilgiri Hill Tribe Badaga Welfare Association was formed to promote government action in classifying Badagas as Scheduled Tribe, which would have material advantages for the community.

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sorcerer killed by Badagas and Todas, after three sudden deaths in a Badaga headman's family.

1884 Conclusion of Final Land Settlement (1881–1884). Drought in Nilgiris, followed by crop failure.

1887 Some smallpox; school attendance decreased following a series of conversions. Kurumba shot by a Badaga whose wife he had bewitched.

1889 First mission school opened in Kundena:ḍu, at Bikkaṭṭi, by request of 'a friendly Badaga'.

1890–1910 'Bible women' (South Indian Christians) active in trying to convert Badaga women; very little success.

1891 Massacre of Kurumbas by Badagas.

1897 Opium-eating noted to be on the increase. Factions formed among Ha:ruvas over who should have precedence in walking over fire at their Mahaliṅga festival.

1900 Typhoid epidemic and famine among Badagas; earthquake in Nilgiris; massacre of Kurumbas by Badagas.

1901 Conversion of Kereha:da headman's daughter; attempt to isolate the Badagas of that area from the rest of their community.

1902–1903 Epidemic of plague among Badagas.

1904 Police used to suppress Badaga persecution of a new group of converts; after this date there was no further physical harrassment of Christians.

1904–1905 Plague among Badagas.

1906 Minor earthquake in the Nilgiris; houses shook. Much higher rate of intoxication than in previous years. By now about eight hundred protestant converts.

The cut-off date of 1906 in this skeleton history is somewhat arbitrary; nevertheless it is clear that the misfortunes that dogged the Badagas became considerably less frequent after this date. In 1907 the converts were having factional disputes amongst themselves.

FACTORS LEADING TO STRESS

Biographical material in publications of the Basel Evangelical Lutheran Mission and in the minutes of the Ke:ti parish for the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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latter part of the last century (Basel Mission, 1905, *passim*) leaves no doubt of a deep disturbance among Badagas during this period. Three distinct factors were responsible:

Land Legislation

The censuses for the last few decades of the nineteenth century record a steady increase in the Nilgiri population (both Badaga and other), implying a need for more farm-land. The British administrators responded, however, with several legislative moves to conserve land resources. They stopped the traditional Badaga practice of swidden farming, in which men cleared as much forest-land as they needed and farmed it for a few years before moving elsewhere. (To the British this practice was wasteful of land, and they believed it led to soil erosion.) As an additional check on the wasteful use of large tracts they compiled an exhaustive register of all land holdings in the district, the Final Land Settlement (1881–1884), and made this the basis for annual assessment of land revenues. Land holdings were restricted to a maximum of five hundred acres (202 ha.). Even the custom of cutting timber in nearby jungles was prohibited by the Madras Forest Act (1882). In the years 1863–1882 legislation thus changed the whole complexion of the Badaga farm economy and prompted doubts in many Badagas about the very survival of their community and culture. The situation was aggravated over this period by the continuing extension of eucalyptus, cinchona, tea and coffee plantations.

Missionary Activity

The sense of uncertainty was further aggravated by missionary attempts to convert Badagas to Christianity. This went on for many decades, and the extent of Badaga opposition to it was in a sense defined in 1856, when they burnt down the mission's rest-house at Kallatti (B.E.M.S., 1856, no. 16, 27, note). At about the same time the Revd. Metz (1864, 137) noted that 'some parties were so hostile to me that they intended bribing a Kurumba to kill me by sorcery . . . In one place the Badagas created a disturbance, and refused me admittance into their village . . .'. In 1858 the first

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> One day a respectable man interrupted Br. Metz by remarking that through his new doctrine their gods had lost much of the respect and reverence in which they were formerly held and this he said was the cause of the great drought and all their misfortunes. . . . Just at this time he was interrupted . . . by a body of people dragging a dead calf along with them and accusing a Toda boy of having killed it by witchcraft. (B.E.M.S., 1858, no. 18, 91–92; the Toda was rescued by Metz; see Metz, 1864, 22–24, 34).

The last known instance of Badagas killing a supposed Toda sorcerer, around 1895, was in retaliation for the death of a Badaga child (Rivers, 1906, 261; Francis, 1908, 144).

Factionalism

There is no published evidence of any kind of factional division among the Badagas until the late 1850s. The challenging question that this poses must therefore remain unanswered: was the emergence of factional disputes really a reaction to the stresses of crossing the threshold into the modern world, a world which introduced the Badagas to a cash economy with international markets, a code of law under which they were theoretically on an equal footing with everyone else, opportunities for schooling and literacy, obligations to pay taxes and obey strange foreign officials? Or was the periodic factional restructuring of the community an integral part of Badaga life, something which has occurred for as long as Badagas have existed? We have no means of knowing.

There are two different types, or rather different scales, of factions, but both are designated by the same word.[16] First, there are what might be called 'personal' factions or feuds, which stem from differences of opinion in a single village about someone's personal grievance. The second kind of faction embraces virtually all Badaga villages, each of them taking one side or the other in some dispute of general concern to everybody. Descriptions of Badaga reaction to the earliest religious conversions suggest that this type of faction grows out of what is initially a dispute confined to a single village (B.E.M.S., 1889, no. 50, 67–68; Anonymous, 1894, 547–551; Eppler, 1900, 153–155).

From these nineteenth-century descriptions several accounts

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● 127 might be culled of the process by which factional behaviour starts. However, because of the partisan attitude in the early mission writings, a more recent example of faction formation is preferable. 518 The following case is a summary of my informant's account (the 621 name is fictitious). What happened prompted the formation of two [124] factions, although the division was probably founded in part on earlier experiences and previous disputes.

In 1963 when one village was preparing to stage a funeral the headman asked every household to donate three meals for the expected visitors. One man, Ajja, was requested to prepare four meals, perhaps by mistake; and he did as asked, only to find that nobody came to his house to eat them. Why this was so is not clear; but apparently Ajja was not a very pleasant person to get along with. He demanded a refund of the cost of the meals from the general village funds, but the headman decided to do nothing about it. This situation divided the village into two separate communities.

At first only three households closely related to him supported Ajja; but after another funeral in the village, other people belonging to the same lineage as those three households found themselves drawn into Ajja's faction. At this point the village council led by the headman forbade any women to help members of Ajja's faction with such tasks as working in their fields. Because of this proscription a number of women were forced to join Ajja's faction: they perhaps had no strong feelings about the actual dispute, but were too poor to forego the Rs. 1¼ they were earning as daily labourers.

Thus within a few weeks from the start of the grievance typical factional behaviour was characterizing interaction in this village: no one was supposed to talk to members of the opposite faction or to visit their houses and eat with them. In effect, what had been a single village now took on the organization of two non-communicating but interdigitated villages. Within two months from the initial funeral there was a complete break-down in village cooperation at the celebration of festivals: each faction celebrated its own separately from the other.

Yet some ten weeks after the dispute began there were already signs that the factional structure was falling apart. No longer could a rigid separation be maintained between the two

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121 society and economy have developed over the centuries. This will not be done here, however, since I have presented the historical data on the community at great length elsewhere (Hockings 1979a; a brief synopsis may be found in Hockings 1972b). If we are to try and understand Badaga society in the way it is now perceived by Badagas and other Indians, then obscure historical references from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries cannot be considered relevant information for this study. Instead of turning to old documentary evidence — of which almost none refers to health — I will therefore rely on my own field observations for the most part. (101) These were made during a total of three years of residence among the Badagas (in 1962-1963, 1969-1970, 1972, and 1976-1977).

•127 Although there have been several inaccurate accounts of the Badagas left us by early travellers and officials, and there is voluminous material on their evangelization by French, Swiss and German missionaries, general descriptions of the social organization are rare. I can only commend the well-observed paper by Natesa Sastri (1892) and extensive notes by Thurston (1909). Of some use also are the chapters on Badaga economy by Ranga (1934), and an essay on Badaga religion by Samikannu (1922). Several papers by myself may also be of interest. Unfortunately of these few studies none discusses therapy and only Thurston (1909) is readily to be found in most university libraries because his volumes were recently reprinted. By contrast the small Toda tribe has been the subject of well over a hundred books and articles out of a 2,800-item bibliography on the Nilgiris (Hockings, 1978). While the District has been very heavily studied from every conceivable viewpoint, the numerically preponderant community has been almost wholly ignored. General information about the Badagas and the Nilgiri Hills can be found in the scholarly but now out-dated district gazetteers (Grigg, 1880; Francis, 1908; Nambiar 1965). These are also the chief, though inadequate, sources for information about public health in the Nilgiris in the past.

Topography of the District

133 1.4. It is convenient to think of the Nilgiris as divided into four parts physiographically and ethnically : (1) The Malna:ḍ, or upper plateau, in the elevation range 6,500-8,600 feet. This is pre-eminently the homeland and grazing area for the Todas and their buffaloes.

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causes not ascertained. We must also bear in mind that the Badagas made up only 21 per cent of the Nilgiri population in 1961; and they were probably somewhat healthier and better adapted to the montane climatic conditions that most lowland immigrants who have come to the plateau in recent decades as underpaid and undernourished day labourers, and whose deaths are also reflected in these statistics.

9.8. For one area of the Nilgiri District it is possible to be more specific about the causes of death among Badagas. I have located the register of deaths (among Christian Badagas) for the Parish of Ketti during the years 1892-1921. Although health conditions have improved somewhat since that period in the several dozen villages it covers, it is unique as a near-random sample (N=240) of the larger population, and its 33-year span is an important factor. A very few of the Christians listed in this register were non-Badagas or children of only one Badaga parent, but as they also lived and worked in one of the various Badaga villages which contained Christians their fate is nonetheless a good indicator of local health conditions. They have therefore been included in Table 6, (whereas five cases have been excluded because cause of death and age were omitted from those entries).

Because the register is very precise about age at the time of death, as well as stating the apparent causes of death, it should be possible to throw light on the factors responsible for the high rate of infant mortality among Badagas of that period. A cautionary note, however, is that no case histories are available, and in such situations "credit is often given to some respiratory or gastroenteric disease that may in fact have only administered the coup de grâce" (Newman 1962: 23). In particular, we may suspect that nutritional deficiencies often led to a constitutional weakness in Badaga infants which made it easy for one of the recorded maladies to take its toll.

The commonest factors in the deaths of children under one year were fever (4 boys, 9 girls), influenza (1 boy, 5 girls), whooping cough (5 boys), convulsions—usually a result of brain injury caused during the actual birth (9 boys, 7 girls), pneumonia (7 boys, 3 girls) and bronchitis (1 boy, 5 girls). The fact is that during the entire period 1892-1921, half of a total of 114 male and 126 female Christians who died—i.e., 65 boys and 62 girls—died in the first 12 months of life. In contrast, the stated number of mothers who died as a result of childbirth over this period is remarkably low (3).

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I have been able to find one register of births for Ketti Parish, that is to say, for the identical Christian population that is covered by the register of deaths, and I note that during the years 1892-1910 there were 130 live males born, and another 120 live female births (one of them being of twins). Since the succeeding register covering the years 1910-1921 is lost, I can only project these figures so as to suggest that during the entire period 1892-1921 there would have been about 416 live births in the Christian community (as compared with 240 deaths). The three mothers who died in that time thus represent a death rate for parturient women of only 0.7 per cent, which is remarkably low when compared with elsewhere in India. Thus the Mysore Gazetteer, in reference to the three Malnad Distrcits, a nearby hilly area not unlike the Nilgiris physically: "Quite 40 per cent of the women die during the puerperal period after confinement. When one hears the details of the treatment accorded to these unfortunate women, it is a wonder that any of them survive at all" (Hayavadana Rao 1927: 454). The same source shows on the other hand that the infant mortality rate among Badaga Christians is even higher than what was found for Mysore State: "...roughly one among five children born does not survive its first year of life" (Hayavadana Rao 1927: 459). Our Ketti Parish statistics suggest that for the period covered by the two registers one Badaga child in three—30.5 per cent—did not survive the first year.

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Summit of the Neilgherry Hills..."

1849 Bühler: "Ueber das Volk und die Sprache der Badaga..."

1864 Metz: "The Tribes Inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills; Their Social Customs and Religious Rites."

1868 Short: "An Account of the Tribes on the Nilgiris."

1876 Jagor: "Die Badagas im Nilgiri-Gebirge."

1880 Grigg: "A Manual of the Nilagiri District..."

1882 Stokes: " Mission Work among the Badagas..."

1891 Réclus: "The Mountaineers of the Neilgherries..."

1892 Natesa Sastri: "The Badagas of the Nilagiri District."

1897 Thurston: "The Badagas of the Nilgiris."

1900 Eppler: "Geschichte der Basler Mission 1815-1899."

1907 Pioneer: "The Badagas."

1908 Francis: "The Nilgiris."

1909 Thurston:"Badagas."

1911 Tignou: "In the Nilgherries."

For the period from 1913 till 1963 the following studies are available:

1916 Turner: "The Badagas: A Tribe of the Nilgiris."

1924 Gaymard: "Les Badagas, tribus des montagnes bleues de l'Hindoustan."

1928 Benbow: "The Badagas -- Beliefs and Customs." (Ms.)

1932 Périe: "Bénédiction d'église à Kotti (Nilgiris)." (Ms.)

1934 Ranga: "The Tribes of the Nilgiris..."

1937 Vivekanandam Pillai: "The Badagas."

1941 Mandelbaum: "Culture Change among the Nilgiri Tribes."

1945 Karl: "The Religion of the Badagas." (Ms.)

127 1963 Fox "Caste Dominance and Coercion in the Nilgiris."

These accounts, as should be expected, vary greatly in both their usefulness and their objectivity; meticulous care must therefore be exercised in handling them.

It is largely on these accounts, nevertheless, that we must rely to answer the first large question in this study: what was the "traditional" society, in

121 1913? In our answer we first examine the traditional position of the Badagas in Nilgiri society. This leads on, logically enough, to an account of their political and judicial system. We then come to the theme of how marriage is regulated in Badaga society, and how its main social groups are constituted. In continuation of this topic, we consider the status differentials of "class" and affluence. Finally we show how the Badagas subscribe to four different religious belief-systems, and also how religious and other disputes from time to time lead to the emergence of factions within the community.

124 Present-day informants can still relate something of what "traditional" Badaga life was like; when we come to consider what social and economic changes have occurred in the Nilgiris since 1913, their testimony becomes much fuller than the few published accounts available -- thus field-work takes over as his-

121 torical research gives way. The changes that we consider in this thesis are those in the spheres of agriculture, markets, communications, employment opportunities, law and administration. Each of these topics will be considered in turn.

This section of the dissertation leads into other major questions: How has the social organization changed in reaction to these other cultural changes? Who were the agents of change? And why should the changes occur in the manner that they have? In these final sections of the thesis we consider the impact of particular social groups, reference individuals, and communications media, on

121 the Badaga culture. We have to ask how their case compares with documented change elsewhere in India, and what broad theoretical conclusions may be drawn from such comparisons.

Acknowledgments

122 To the American Institute of Indian Studies, the Social Science Research Council, and the University of California, I proffer my sincere thanks for the sinews of war. Like any phase of a development project, the completion of a doctoral thesis requires something more than an adequate flow of capital: technical 000 guidance and inspired planning should always lead the way. In both of these, the constant interest and assistance of David G. Mandelbaum have been of immeasurable value. I have also been fortunate in the guidance given me by Gerald D. Berreman and Murray B. Emeneau. Eugene A. Hammel, also on the faculty at the University of California, has kindly read and criticized the manuscript in an earlier form.

•127 Anthony R. Hazelden-Walker, of St. John's College, Oxford, has put at my disposal his own field-notes on the Todas; these have helped me considerably. It is also a pleasure to record here my appreciation of Mr. Hazelden-Walker's stimulating companionship while we were working in the Nilgiris together.

000 Apart from the assistance accorded me by these five gentlemen, this thesis has also benefitted from comments by Chie Nakane, Martin Orans, Surajit Sinha, and M. N. Srinivas.

128 The speed with which it has been possible to complete the work is largely [14] due to one peron , my mother, Mary Hockings, who took upon herself the horrendous task of typing and classifying the data onto IBM cards. My wife, Amelia

614 Lingayats (although since about 1960 some of them have taken to wearing the lingam again).

574 614 Adikaris, like Kaṇakkas, admit Haruvas, Kaggunis, and other Lingayats to the inner room for meals; (Wodeyas refuse to eat with them, however); Gaudas and Toreyas may only eat in the outer room, and members of the other tribes are not allowed past the entrance door. Adikaris and Kaṇakkas eat only at the houses of Haruvas and Wodeyas, where they can feel sure of receiving the correctly prepared vegetarian dishes.

614 The Kaṇakkas, although now agriculturists like all other Badagas, once held the monopoly over literacy in the Nilgiris (Grigg 1880: 221). Their name means "accountant", and is generally taken to indicate that some of their forefathers acted as village accountants when a ruler in the Coimbatore Plains, probably the East India Company, became powerful enough to demand the levy of taxes. Although the Kaṇakkas are Lingayats, and today have a status equal with that of the Adikaris, there are many Badagas who will whisper darkly that originally the Kaṇakkas were not Kanarese at all, but Tamilians. The Kaṇakkas themselves would not own to this, since experience with the Madras Government officials has led nearly all Badagas to despise the Tamilian but to be more charitably inclined toward the Mysorean; still, it may well be true that the Kaṇakkas were Gaundans, an agricultural caste from the Coimbatore Plain, who were brought to the Nilgiris because 115 167 614 (127) they knew how to write (Grigg 1880: 221). My discovery of some 500 palm-leaf manuscripts hidden in two Kaṇakka hamlets lends support to this belief. These leaves were written two to four centuries ago in a script and language close to modern Tamil. Some of the texts are devotional in character, but many are the 614 718 exercises of tyro scribes. The leaves are now treasured as the sacred writings

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(127) From these 19th Century descriptions several accounts might be culled of the process by which factional behavior starts. A much more recent illustration of faction-formation is preferable, however, because of the subjectivity in the early missionary writings. The case I have chosen is my summary of the informant's account (and, as in my other quotations from field-notes, the name used is fictitious).

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621 "Early in 1963, when one hamlet was planning to stage a funeral, the headman asked every household to donate three meals for the visitors expected. One man, Raman, was requested to prepare four meals, either through mistake or for some unknown reason; and he did as asked, but only to find that nobody came to his house to eat them. Why this should be is not clear: apparently Raman was not a very pleasant person to get along with. He complained that the cost of the meals should be refunded to him from the general village funds, but the headman decided to do nothing about it. From this situation two factions arose which divided the entire hamlet into two separate communities.

(602)
(613) "At first only three households closely related to him supported Raman; but then, after another funeral had occurred in the hamlet, the other people there who were related to those three households, because they were all in the same lineage, found themselves drawn into Raman's faction. At this point the hamlet council, led by the headman, forbad any women to help members of Raman's faction by such duties as working in their fields. Because of this proscription there were a number of women who found themselves forced into joining Raman's faction: they perhaps had no strong feelings about the actual dispute, but they were too poor to forego the Rs. 1 1/2 they were earning as daily laborers in the fields of those people.

"Thus within a few weeks from the start of the grievance typical factional